

THE BYZANTINE OFFICE
AT HAGIA SOPHIA

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This essay is a revised and extended version of a paper
which I read at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium of 1954.

IN the year 1200, on the eve of the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, a Russian pilgrim from Novgorod — the monk Anthony — visited Hagia Sophia and recorded his impressions of the Great Church and its marvels. Not the least of these, to judge from his account, was the order of service followed by the Greek clergy in their celebration of the morning and evening office.

When they sing Lauds at Hagia Sophia, they sing first in the narthex before the royal doors; then they enter and sing in the middle of the church; then the gates of Paradise are opened and they sing a third time before the altar. On Sundays and feastdays the Patriarch assists at Lauds and at the Liturgy; at this time he blesses the singers from the gallery, and ceasing to sing, they proclaim the polychronia; then they begin to sing again as harmoniously and as sweetly as the angels, and they sing in this fashion until the Liturgy. After Lauds they put off their vestments and go out to receive the blessing of the Patriarch; then the preliminary lessons are read in the ambo; when these are over the Liturgy begins, and at the end of the service the chief priest recites the so-called prayer of the ambo within the sanctuary while the second priest recites it in the church, beyond the ambo; when they have finished the prayer, both bless the people. Vespers are said in the same fashion, beginning at an early hour.¹

That our visitor took the trouble to set all this down is in itself enough to tell us that what he saw and heard was new and strange to him. And even if we had no other evidence, we should know from his references to the procession from the narthex to the middle of the church, to the preliminary lessons, and to the ambo, that at the beginning of the thirteenth century the conduct of the morning and evening office at Hagia Sophia did not conform to the monastic rite.

Two hundred years later, Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica, included in his monumental treatise *On Divine Prayer*,² an elaborate exposition of the ceremonies that the Russian pilgrim had witnessed, together with a minute analysis of the differences between the liturgical practices of the Great Church and those of the monasteries. But by this time, the situation throughout the Empire had deteriorated to such an extent that these practices, once the glory of Hagia Sophia and the other great churches, had largely fallen into disuse. Rightly or wrongly, Symeon places the blame squarely upon the Latin conquerors:

After Constantinople had been enslaved [he says], and the clergy driven out and settled elsewhere, these ceremonies were neglected; it became customary not to perform them, and when the clergy returned after many years, their practice ceased; from the one church [Hagia Sophia], as from a mother, this was handed on to the rest.³

¹ *Publications de la Société de l'Orient latin. Série géographique*, V (1889) 97. I am obliged to Professor Roman Jakobson of Harvard University for his suggestions regarding the translation of this document.

² PG, CLV, 536–669.

³ *De sacro templo*, loc. cit., 325. Strictly speaking this passage has to do only with the

In his day, the Archbishop tells us, the secular clergy had almost universally accepted the monastic rite;⁴ in Constantinople itself the old order was followed at Hagia Sophia only three times a year,⁵ and even on these occasions its use appears to have been merely permissive; in his own great church in Thessalonica, the second Hagia Sophia, the ancient rites of Constantinople had found their last haven;⁶ in himself, they had found their last champion. What he defended was already an anachronism, unintelligible to many, appreciated by few. Even in Thessalonica there were some who professed an inability to distinguish between the old order of Vespers and the Liturgy, and Symeon tells us that visitors from Constantinople, who might have been expected to know better, were still more perplexed.⁷ Some compromises had already been made; Symeon made others.⁸ And on March 29, 1430, only six months after the Archbishop's death, Thessalonica fell to the Turks, its great church was made a mosque, and the old order came suddenly to an end.

With this an ancient conflict was finally laid to rest — the conflict between the rival claims of the city of Constantine and the city of David, between the rival claims of two more or less independent and incompatible liturgical practices. This is a conflict which affects virtually every area within the general field of Byzantine studies. Not only does it affect all study of liturgical developments; it also affects the study of Early Christian art and architecture, of Old Testament text-criticism, of canon law. In recent years it has prompted a whole series of noteworthy monographs, in which Baumstark,⁹ Malickij,¹⁰ Schneider,¹¹ and Antoniadès,¹² scholars representing the widest variety of interests, have sought to define and distinguish the two practices more sharply. Each has brought to the task a special competence; each has had his particular contribution to make. Yet when one adds all these together, the sum falls short of a total solution; much remains unexplained, and there are disturbing contradictions to be resolved.

custom of commemorating the anniversary of a dedication. But Symeon says much the same thing in other connections; cf. *De sacra precatone*, *loc. cit.*, 553, 625; *Responsiones*, *loc. cit.*, 908.

⁴ *De sacra precatone*, 556.

⁵ On the feasts of the Exaltation, of the Assumption, and of St. John Chrysostom. *Ibid.*, 553.

⁶ *De sacro templo*, 328; *De sacra precatone*, 556, 624; *Responsiones*, 908.

⁷ *De sacra precatone*, 625.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 556, 628, 648.

⁹ "Das Typikon der Patmos-Handschrift 266 und die altkonstantinopolitanische Gottesdienstordnung," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, VI (1923) 98–111; "Denkmäler der Entstehungsgeschichte des byzantinischen Ritus," *Oriens Christianus*, 3. Serie, II (1927) 1–32.

¹⁰ "Le Psautier byzantin à illustrations marginales du type Chludov est-il de provenance monastique?" *L'Art byzantin chez les Slaves*, 2^me recueil (Paris, 1932) 235–243.

¹¹ "Die biblischen Oden in Jerusalem und Konstantinopel," *Biblica*, XXX (1949) 433–452.

¹² "Περὶ τοῦ ἁσματος καὶ ἡ βυζαντινοῦ κοσμικοῦ τύπου τῶν ἀκολουθιῶν τῆς ἡμερονοκτίου προσευχῆς," *Θεολογία*, XX–XXII (1949–51).

Now in Symeon's time there was a well-established name for the office of the Great Church. It was called the ἀκολουθία ᾠσματική — the "chanted" or "choral" office. From this we may certainly infer that it involved more singing than was usual in the monasteries, and to say this is to reduce the distinction between the two liturgical practices to its simplest terms. Precisely this same simplification is made by the Archbishop when he contrasts the two forms of worship. In the "chanted" office, he says, we have an office requiring a considerable personnel, for although he repeatedly connects the disuse into which it has fallen with the Latin occupation, he adds at one point that the shortage of priests and singers may have been a contributing factor;¹³ to this he opposes the monastic office, which can be carried out by one person alone.¹⁴ In the "chanted" office, he says again, we have an office that is sung throughout, no words being recited without singing except the prayers and petitions of the priests and deacons;¹⁵ to this he opposes the monastic office, which was often performed without singing at all.¹⁶ Thus it appears that the problem of the "chanted" office is fundamentally a musical problem, and that it will not be possible to solve it satisfactorily without taking music into account. It likewise appears that the music of the "chanted" office constitutes a central and crucial chapter in the history of Byzantine music and that until this chapter is written our conception of Byzantine music is bound to remain one-sided and incomplete.

The manuscript sources for the music of the "chanted" office are neither numerous nor well known. Three belong to monasteries on Mount Athos. At the Lavra, MS. E. 173, a bulky miscellany dated "1436," devotes some ten folios to the "chanted" office as it is sung at Vespers of outstanding feasts and at the Vespers and Lauds of the feast of the Exaltation.¹⁷ Parts of its contents are duplicated in a second miscellany at the Lavra, the MS. E. 148,¹⁸ and in a similar though smaller miscellany at Vatopedi, the MS. 1527, dated "1434."¹⁹ From these three sources alone one could learn a good deal, and they would be well worth our attention if they were not completely overshadowed by a fourth manuscript, one of the more than 1,200 added to the collection at the National Library in Athens since the publication of the printed catalogue in 1892. This is the MS. Athens 2061.

¹³ *De sacra precatone*, 553.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 556.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 624.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 556.

¹⁷ Folios 247–257 *verso*.

¹⁸ Folios 325–328 *verso*.

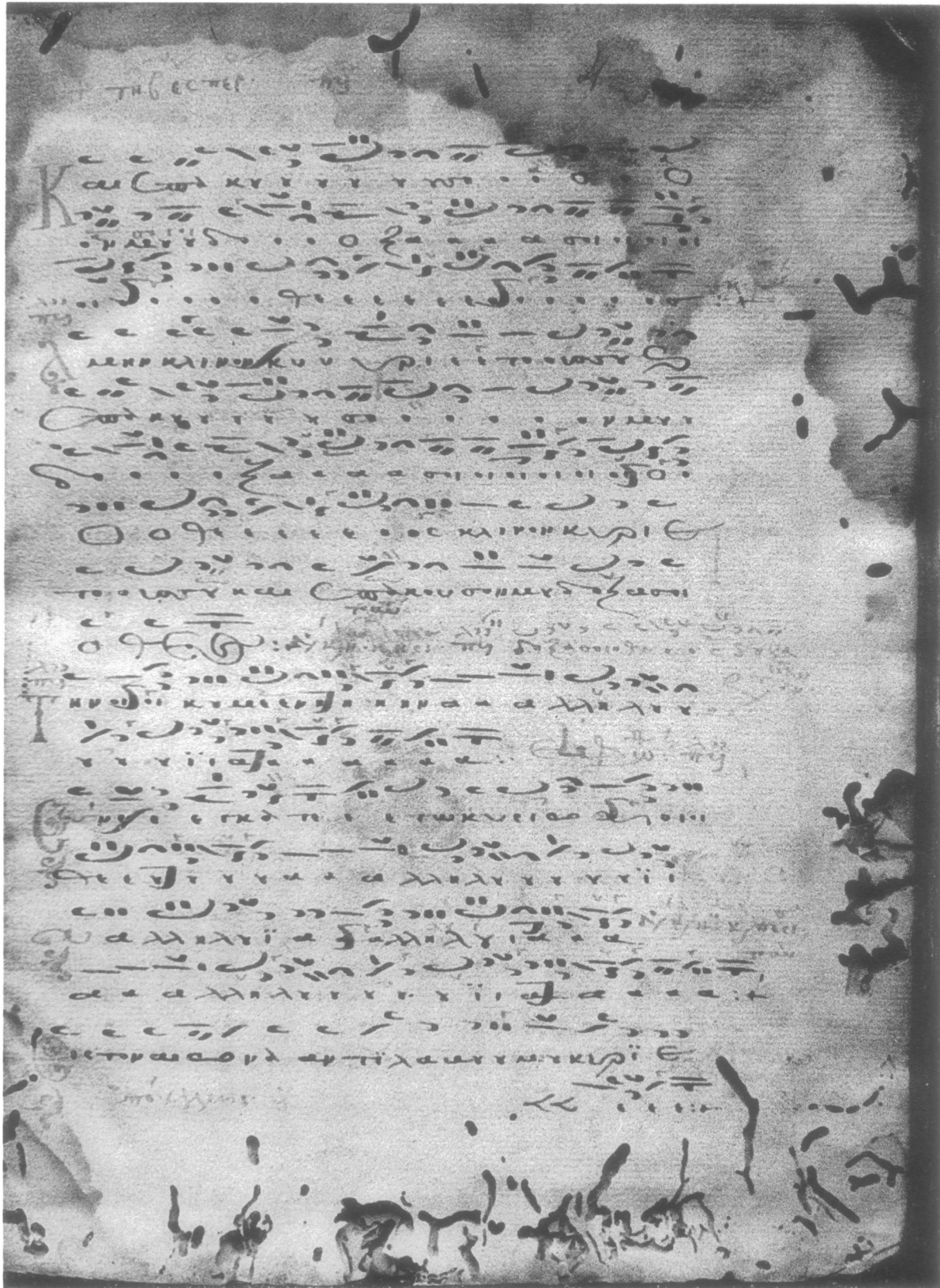
¹⁹ Folios 310 *verso*–321 *verso*.

Unlike the three monastic sources, the MS. Athens 2061 is concerned with the "chanted" office only. Its first folios are devoted to what a Western book would have called an "Ordinarium"; this contains music for the psalms and canticles as they are sung at the daily Vespers and Lauds throughout the week. It is followed by a second "Ordinarium," similar to the first and likewise covering a week, so that in principle each psalm or canticle is represented twice. A third section brings in ordinary and proper chants for certain great feasts — for Easter, for feasts of Apostles, for the two Sundays before Christmas with the Saturdays that precede them, for Christmas, for Epiphany, and for the feast of the Exaltation. A fourth and final section adds a few familiar pieces, common to the two practices, for which earlier and purer sources are available.²⁰

When was this manuscript written and where does it come from? Its date is fixed between the years 1391 and 1425 by the acclamations for the Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus and his wife Helena which follow the Vespers for the feast of the Exaltation. These acclamations of the Emperor and Empress are accompanied by others addressed to an archbishop.²¹ He is not named, but he presides in person at the ceremony, for one rubric directs that he is to pronounce the opening benediction, and another that he is to give the singers who acclaim him his blessing. From these directions we may infer that the manuscript comes from an archiepiscopal church, and from other directions found in the same context we may draw the further inference that it was a church possessing a sizable and accessible dome, for at the beginning of the ceremony, the psaltists, bearing lights, are described as going up into the dome, and it is from here that they sing their acclamations. This archiepiscopal church with a sizable and accessible dome can only be the Great Church of Thessalonica, Hagia Sophia, for we know from Symeon, whose treatise is roughly contemporary with our manuscript, that in his day

²⁰ The Athens MS. was photographed for me by Miss Allison Frantz, of the American School of Classical Studies, to whom I am particularly indebted for her extraordinary helpfulness; acknowledgment is due also to the American School itself, to Mr. Peter Topping, Librarian of the Gennadius Library, to Mr. Georgios Kournoutos, Curator of MSS. in the National Library, and to Professor Ernest W. Saunders, of the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., and Father Gregorio Nowack, of Athens, who photographed for me the pertinent folios of the MSS. on Mount Athos.

²¹ These acclamations do not differ materially from those addressed to John VIII in 1433, published by Tillyard after the MS. Pantocrator 214 in his paper on "The Acclamation of Emperors in Byzantine Ritual," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XVIII (1911-12) 239-260, and often reprinted, most recently by Wellesz in his *History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford, 1949) 103-106. Tillyard's shrewd suggestion that the examples he published might be an adaptation of earlier music is thus borne out. Indeed the fact is that this music can be traced as far back as the year 1336, when it was used for acclamations addressed to the Emperor Andronicus III (Athens, National Library, MS. 2458, f. 144).



1. Athens, National Library, MS. 2061, fol. 4



2. "Chludov" Psalter, fol. 97



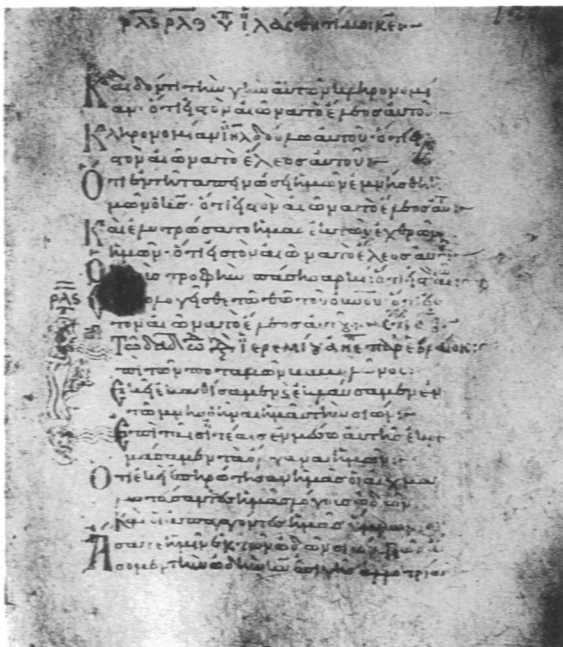
3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ancien fonds grec, MS. 20, fol. 5r

ὅτι εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἑλεος αὐτοῦ·
 κληρονομία ἡ δαύχου αὐτοῦ· ὅτι
 εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἑλεος αὐτοῦ·
 τί ἐμὲ τὸ πειμῶσθαι μετ' ἐμὲ μὴ οὐκ ἔστι;
 μὴ οὐκ ἔστι; ὅτι εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἑλεος
 αὐτοῦ
 καὶ ἐλπίσας τοῦ μακάριον ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
 ἡ μὴ· ὅτι εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἑλεος αὐτοῦ·
 οὐδὲν προφ' ἡμῶν πᾶσι σὺν κ'· ὅτι εἰς
 τὸ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἑλεος αὐτοῦ·
 ἐξομολογείσθαι τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ὁμιλοῦν· ὅτι εἰς
 τὸ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἑλεος αὐτοῦ·

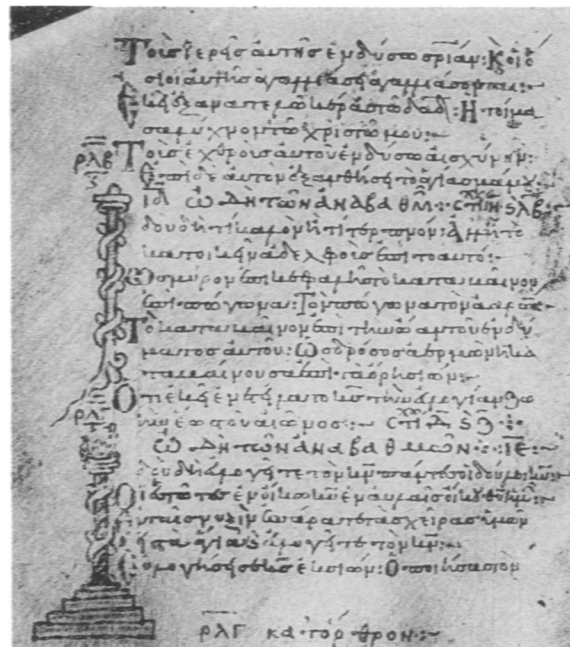
ΤΩ ΔΕ ΛΑΩ

ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν βαθυλῶρος
 καὶ ἐκείσεσθε μετὰ καὶ ἐκλαύσατε μετ' ἐμὲ
 μὴ οὐκ ἔστιν αἱ ἡμετέρας τῆς σῆρας·
 ἐπὶ ταῖς ἰτέαις ἐμὲ σὺν αὐτῆς ἐκρεμάσα
 μενταῖρ' γὰρ ἡ μὴ·
 ὅτι ἐκείσεσθε τὴν σῆραν καὶ οὐκ ἔστι
 τεύχεα ἡμετέρας καὶ οὐκ ἔστι· καὶ οὐ
 αἰσθάνομαι τὴν σῆραν καὶ οὐκ ἔστι·
 ἀσπασί μετ' ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν· πῶς αἰ
 σμενταῖρ' οὐδ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας·

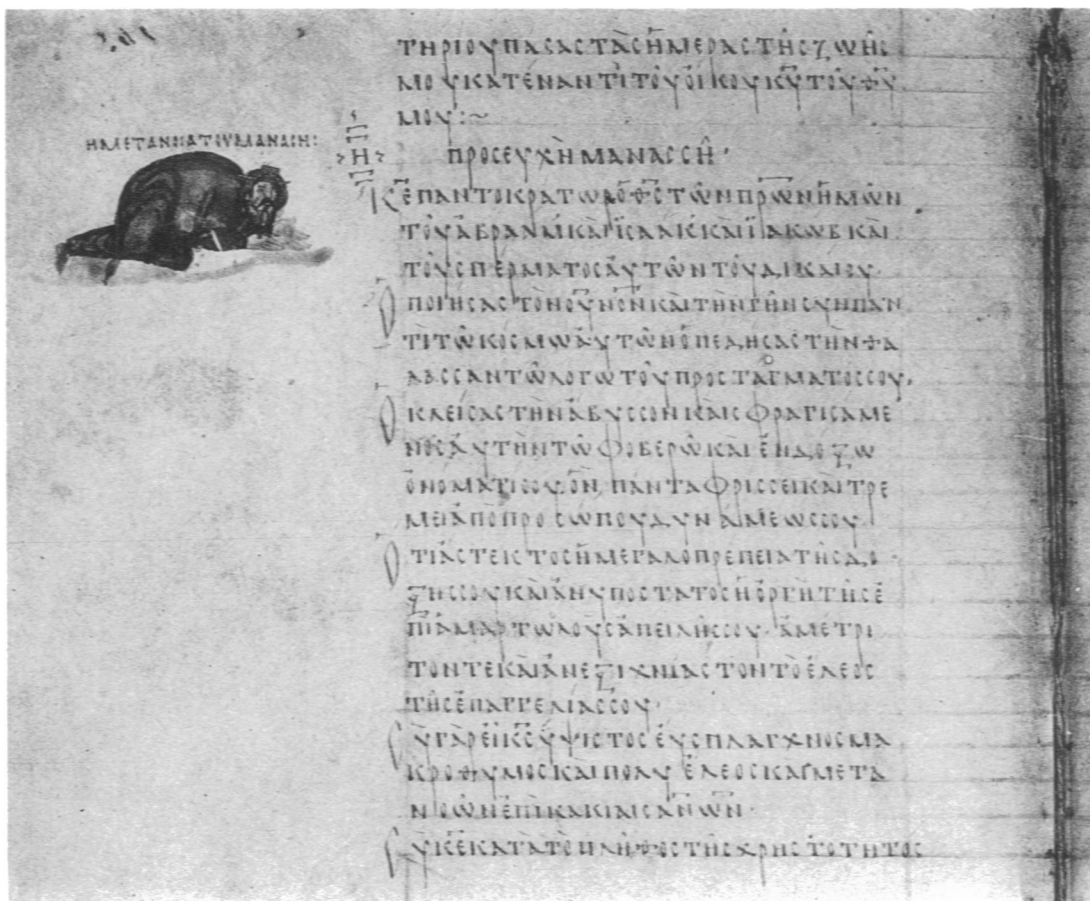




5. Vatican, Barberini gr. 285, fol. 129



6. Vatican, Barberini gr. 285, fol. 126r



7. "Chludov" Psalter, fol. 158r

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 ἰφου· τας καρδιας ἐμπροσθεν τῶν γυναικῶν
 μαλιν ποιησάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ διό· καὶ
 μέγ· ἰσχυρὰ παμφορὸν τριῶν· ἀνιμῶν
 ἰσχυρὰ ἀνιμῶν· δόξα ἐν νῆσσοις τοῖς·

ἰσχυρὰ ἀνιμῶν· δόξα ἐν νῆσσοις τοῖς·

τῇ ἀγία κ' τῆς ἡ ἐς ἰστέον ὁπτιόντος τελεῖται

ἡ γονυκλυσία· καὶ ἡ σταυρὸς τοῦ ἐς περὶ·

ἡ ἀλλω με με κ' τῶν ἰσχυρὰ καὶ τὸ κ'·

ἐκ· ἡς κ' τῶν ἰσχυρὰ με κ' τῶν ἰσχυρὰ·

Παραδοξασκόμερον· ἰδοὺ ταύτην καὶ ταύτην
 πολλὰ δαυιδ· ὅτε τοῦ ἀντιπάλου καὶ τῆς ἀντιπάλου
 ἐμπροσθεν γυναικῶν· καὶ τῶν ὁπτιόντων
 λουίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀντιπάλου· ἡ γονυκλυσία
 τῶν μετὰ τῆς ἀντιπάλου· ἡ γονυκλυσία

+ τὰ ζῆτις νομῶν τὰ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὰ παρ
 εἰς τὰς ὥρας· καὶ τὰ τὴν παρὰ δόσιν
 τὴν αἰσῶν πόλιν· ποίησας ὡφρο
 νίον πρὶ ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἱεροσολύμων·
 τὸν παρὰ τὴν αἰσῶν πόλιν·
 + ἡμῶν τὸν παρὰ τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν·
 στήν· ἡσυχία· ἡσυχία· ἡσυχία·
 πρὸς τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν· καὶ τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν·
 μασὶν· ἡσυχία· ἡσυχία· ἡσυχία·
 ὁρῶν τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν·
 + ἡσυχία· ἡσυχία· ἡσυχία·

+ τὴν αἰσῶν πόλιν· καὶ τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν·
 ἐκ τὴν αἰσῶν πόλιν· καὶ τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν·
 + τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν· καὶ τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν·
 ρακίς· ἐπὶ τὴν αἰσῶν πόλιν· καὶ τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν·
 ἐχθρὸν· οὐκ ἐστὶν γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν·
 Θρωπος· ἀλλὰ τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν·
 ἡμῶν δόσιν· καὶ τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν·
 ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶν ἡσυχία· καὶ τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν·
 ἀρεχὴν τὴν αἰσῶν πόλιν· καὶ τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν·
 ἀπογραφὴν ἐστὶν ὡς καὶ κατὰ τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν·
 ἀπογραφὴν παρὰ τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν·
 + τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν· καὶ τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν·
 + τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν· καὶ τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν·
 + τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν· καὶ τὸν αἰσῶν πόλιν·

this was the one place where the "chanted" office was extensively used. I may add that the manuscript came to Athens from the library of the Gymnasium in Salonika, and that MS. E. 148 at the Lavra, in duplicating a part of its contents, describes it as "The office as it is sung in Thessalonica on the feast of the Exaltation of the Precious and Life-giving Cross."²²

Here we must make a choice, for two courses lie open to us. What is to be our point of departure? The Constantinopolitan Hagia Sophia and the ninth century? Or the Thessalonican Hagia Sophia and the year 1400? Shall we begin with early documents from Constantinople, drawing on Symeon's treatise and the Athens manuscript only when a detail remains obscure or when an illustration is needed? Or shall we begin with our late provincial sources, relying at every turn upon earlier ones from the capital to insure the validity of our reconstruction? The second course may seem roundabout, but in the end it will prove to be the more direct. And it has this to recommend it: our late provincial sources, Symeon's treatise and the Athens manuscript, are ideally complementary, for they belong to the same time and place, and the one is in effect a commentary upon the text of the other.

Everyone recognizes that the primary purpose of those who founded the office as a form of Christian worship was to provide for the daily recitation of the Psalter and to fulfil the injunctions of the Psalmist, who would have us sing praises seven times a day, at evening, at morning, and at noon. Whether we think of the Apostolic Constitutions, of Basil, of Cassian, or of Benedict, all early attempts to regulate the conduct of the office reflect this purpose. It is from the Psalter that an office derives its structure and, in the last analysis, the differences between one office and another are rooted in differences in the method of distributing the contents of this one book. To simplify my presentation, I shall build it around this central fact; the subordinate details will then fall into place of themselves.

It will be recalled that the Athens manuscript devotes its first folios to a sort of "Ordinarium," and that this contains music for the psalms and canticles as they are sung at the daily Vespers and Lauds throughout the week. In principle, each of these services begins with eight selections from the Psalter. As a rule one finds only the first line, but we know from other sources that the whole selection was usually sung and that each selection was followed by a doxology. Such a selection from the Psalter, when used liturgically, is called in Greek an "antiphon," and it is of course through a radical extension or change of meaning that this same term comes to be applied in Latin to a refrain sung in a psalmodic context.

²² I am indebted to Professor H. G. Lunt of Harvard University for having kindly verified this reference for me at the time of his visit to the Lavra in 1954.

From this it is clear that the recitation began with a sort of preamble, interpolated before the final petition of the litany, and that following the doxology of the prayer, the psalm itself was sung antiphonally by the two choirs, each taking a verse in turn. But Symeon is not correct in assigning the preamble to the psaltists; it was sung by a single precentor, or *domestikos*, who also sang the "Amen" after the doxology of the prayer and then went on to sing the whole first line of the psalm with its refrain. Only at this point did the choirs take over.²⁴ The Athens manuscript shows just how this was done. From among its many settings I choose the one that opens the Vespers on Monday of the first week (fig. 1).

From the photograph alone one can see that the precentor sings in one style, the choir in another — that while the soloistic preamble and first line are relatively elaborate, the choral first line maintains a studied simplicity, most syllables bearing only a single neume. A transcription will bring out this antithesis more clearly (Ex. 1, p. 182).

It will pay us to stop a moment over this one example, for it can tell us a good deal about the procedures characteristic of this kind of psalmody. First of all, it enables us to see that, in the psalmody of the "chanted" office, the cadence formulas obey the general rule of the Byzantine psalm-tone: they are regularly made up of four elements, and these four elements are mechanically applied, without regard to accent or quantity, to the last four syllables of the text. In this respect, as also in many others, the Byzantine psalm-tones are more conservative than those of Western chant and lie closer to the beginnings of stylized recitation. The cadence formula is the all-important factor in music of this kind, and to recognize this is to recognize also the purpose of the precentor's preamble. This serves to establish the pitch, to establish the mode, in this case the Second Plagal, and to establish the melody of the refrain. But above all it serves to establish the cadence formula, and it is for this reason that so short a text is used and that it is drawn from the end of the line and not from the beginning. In this particular case, the choirs use a simpler cadence and a simpler refrain. But this does not always happen, and we may safely assume that it was not the original practice.

The Athens manuscript is a late source, written at the last possible moment, at a time when the tradition of the "chanted" office was about to die. What assurance have we that the music it contains is not a late creation, perhaps contemporary with the manuscript itself? In so far as it affects the melismatic recitation of the precentor, I see no simple way of answering this question. But recalling that the cadence formula is the all-important factor

²⁴ In his account of the "chanted" Lauds (*ibid.*, 637), Symeon describes these procedures more accurately.

in music of this kind, it is easy to show that the syllabic psalm-tone of the choir goes back to the first half of the thirteenth century at the very latest. For adapted to the first line of Psalm 148, one finds this same psalm-tone among the proper antiphons of a manuscript at Grottaferrata, written — as its colophon informs us — in the monastery of S. Salvatore di Messina in the year 1225.²⁵ The comparison speaks for itself.

Athens

Κλῆ-νον κύ-ρι-ε τὸ οὖς σου καὶ ἐ-πά-κου-σόν μου· Δό-ξα σοι ὁ θε-ός :

Grottaferrata

Αἰ-νεῖ-τε τὸν κύ-ρι-ον ἐκ τῶν οὐ-ρα-νῶν· Ἀλ-λη-λού-ϊ-α :

Example 2

So much for the music of our example. As to its text, the use of Psalm 85 as the first antiphon of the “chanted” Vespers unquestionably preserves an old tradition. It is specifically and repeatedly called for in the Patmos copy of the Typikon, or rule, of Hagia Sophia,²⁶ a text which Baumstark places in the years between 802 and 806.²⁷ And Symeon himself makes the acute observation that the first of the evening prayers, beginning “O Lord, full of compassion and gracious, long-suffering and plenteous in mercy,” is in effect a patchwork of quotations from Psalm 85, the simultaneous singing of which it obviously presupposes.²⁸ This prayer is already contained in the Barberini Euchology, a manuscript of the eighth century and the earliest document of its kind, and the use of Psalm 85 as the first antiphon of the “chanted” Vespers must of course go back still further. In the monasteries, Psalm 85 is read at Nones, and although the first of the evening prayers is the same as in the “chanted” office, the psalm which follows it is Psalm 103.

These provisions for the first antiphon of the “chanted” Vespers have their exact counterpart at Lauds, which also has its invariable first antiphon, consisting of Psalms 3, 62, and 133, sung under one doxology, and once again Symeon supplies a detailed account of its performance.²⁹ We can

²⁵ The MS. Γ. γ. v (446). The antiphon is assigned to September 1 and November 8, and to most feasts of Our Lord and of the Virgin, and it occurs also in the MS. S. Salvatore 129 in the library of the University of Messina.

²⁶ Published by Dmitrievskii in his useful collection of texts, *Описание литургическихъ рукописей*, I (Kiev, 1895) 1-152.

²⁷ “Das Typikon der Patmos-Handschrift” (cited in note 9 above) 111.

²⁸ *De sacra precatone*, 628.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 637.

afford to pass over it without comment, for it agrees in every respect with what we have just seen; as at Vespers, the refrain is "Glory to thee, O God."

Like the fixed psalms of Matins, Lauds, and Compline in the West, the first antiphons of the "chanted" office are set apart from what I may call the "distributed" Psalter, and the same is true of the final antiphons (τὰ τελευταῖα) and of a few other psalms with special functions to fulfil. The remainder of the Psalter is then divided into sixty-eight antiphons, roughly equal in length, each antiphon containing from one to six psalms. A further division splits these sixty-eight antiphons into two groups — the odd-numbered antiphons, with the refrain "Alleluia," and the even-numbered antiphons, with a variety of little refrains not unlike those used for the Western litanies. In all, there are ten of these refrains, and it will be simplest to illustrate them here, together with transcriptions of the melodies with which they are most commonly associated.

REFRAINS

Οἰ—κτεί—ρη—σόν με, κύ—ρι—ε .	Σῶ—σον ἡ—μᾶς, κύ—ρι—ε .
’Ε—πά—κου—σόν μου, κύ—ρι—ε .	Φύ—λα—ξόν με, κύ—ρι—ε .
’Ε—λέ—η—σόν με, κύ—ρι—ε .	Μνησθη—τί μου, κύ—ρι—ε .
Βο—ή—θη—σόν με, κύ—ρι—ε .	
’Αν—τι—λα—βοῦ μου, κύ—ρι—ε .	
Εἰ—σά—κου—σόν μου, κύ—ρι—ε .	
’Ι—λά—σθη—τί μοι, κύ—ρι—ε .	

Example 3

It is not difficult to recognize in the "distributed" Psalter of the Athens manuscript, and in its system of refrains, the arrangement set forth in the "Canon of the Antiphons of the Great Church," a document published many years ago by Cardinal Pitra after an eleventh-century manuscript at the Vatican (Vat. gr. 342).³⁰ The two divisions are indeed identical, and with the help of the Athens manuscript we can even supply the defects of Pitra's source.³¹ What is more, the manuscript clears up for us an apparent inconsistency of the canon which would otherwise remain a puzzle. The evident intention is that the two sorts of refrain should alternate, and that each "Alleluia" antiphon should be followed by one sung with a little refrain. At two points the canon departs from this orderly arrangement. But there is no

³⁰ *Iuris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta*, II (Rome, 1868) 209. It was reprinted by H. Leclercq in his article "Antienne (Liturgie)," Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, I, 2301-2303.

³¹ Some additions and corrections have already been made by L. Petit in his article "Antiphone dans la liturgie grecque," Cabrol, *loc. cit.*, I, 2467-2468. For a reconstruction of the canon after Athens 2061, see Appendix I below.

mistake — the Athens manuscript reveals that in either case an antiphon is to be taken out of order.

CORRECTED CANON

Ps. 4–6	Οἰκτεῖρήσόν με, κύριε.
Ps. 7 & 8	Σῶσον ἡμᾶς, κύριε.
Ps. 9	Ἀλληλούϊα.
Ps. 10–13	Ἀλληλούϊα.
Ps. 33	Οἰκτεῖρήσόν με, κύριε.
Ps. 34 & 35	Ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε.
Ps. 36	Ἀλληλούϊα.
Ps. 37 & 38	Ἀλληλούϊα.

ATHENS 2061

Ps. 4–6	Οἰκτεῖρήσόν με, κύριε.
Ps. 9	Ἀλληλούϊα.
Ps. 7 & 8	Σῶσον ἡμᾶς, κύριε.
Ps. 10–13	Ἀλληλούϊα.
Ps. 33	Οἰκτεῖρήσόν με, κύριε.
Ps. 36	Ἀλληλούϊα.
Ps. 34 & 35	Ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε.
Ps. 37 & 38	Ἀλληλούϊα.

That this system of antiphons and refrains is in fact the system of Hagia Sophia is borne out by a whole series of additional documents,³² and one finds it also in a number of early Psalters, among them several illustrated copies well known to the historian of Byzantine art. Cardinal Pitra himself drew attention to its presence in the eleventh-century Psalter Barberini 285, and Malickij has more recently discussed its bearing on the provenance of the ninth-century “Chludov” Psalter in Moscow and its companion piece at the Bibliothèque Nationale, the MS. Ancien fonds grec 20. In all three of these sources the make-up of the antiphons and the refrains with which they are to be sung are consistently indicated in the upper or lower margins. Thus, to take an example, the “Chludov” Psalter makes one antiphon of Psalms 97 to 100 and directs that it is to be sung with the refrain “Alleluia” (fig. 2). A second hand has gone over the faded uncial text of the psalms and their titles, but has left the marginal direction untouched. The same direction — and the same illustrations — can be seen also on the corresponding folio of

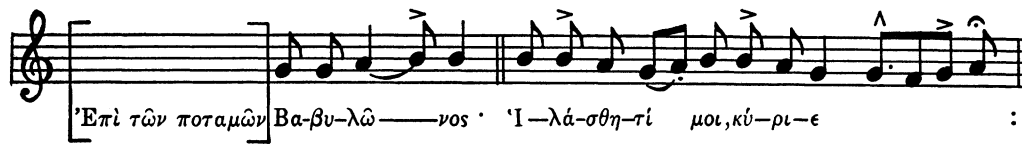
PSALM 97

Example 4

³² Among them a Euchology at the Bibliothèque Nationale dated 1027, the MS. Coislin 213, cited by Malickij (note 10 above).

the Psalter at the Bibliothèque Nationale (fig. 3). The Athens manuscript supplies the music for the first line of this antiphon also (Example 4, p. 186). To take another example, the "Chludov" Psalter makes one antiphon of Psalms 136 and 137, and directs that it is to be sung with the refrain "Forgive me, Lord" (fig. 4). The same direction can be seen also on the corresponding folio of the Barberini Psalter (fig. 5). Once again the Athens manuscript supplies the music, and the fragmentary manner in which it does so is typical of its treatment of these even-numbered antiphons.

PSALM 136



Example 5

Like Pitra's canon, the "Chludov" and Barberini Psalters adopt a different procedure for the fixed psalms. In the "Chludov" Psalter, Psalm 85 is simply headed "At Vespers," and there is no indication of a refrain (fig. 8). And in the Barberini Psalter, Psalm 133, the last psalm of the first antiphon at Lauds, is given similar treatment (fig. 6). The designation "monastic," for Psalters of this type, could scarcely be less accurate.³³

As will have been evident from the foregoing, the psalm-tones of the "distributed" antiphons do not differ essentially from those used for Psalm 85 and for the first antiphon at Lauds. But there are differences in the manner of their performance. As before, the odd-numbered antiphons are preceded by the recitation of a litany—in this case, the so-called "Little Litany." But in introducing them, the precentor no longer draws, for his preamble, on the text of the psalm to follow. Instead he employs a set phrase—the words *Τὴν οἰκουμένην· ἀλληλούϊα* ("The earth: Alleluia")—adapted in each case to the cadence formula which he will afterwards use in singing the first line of the antiphon itself. Symeon interprets this phrase as a sort of gloss on the preceding petition of the litany.

For seeing that the priest addresses God with the words "Uphold, save, have mercy, and preserve us, O God, through thy grace," the psaltist adds [in effect] "Uphold, save, have mercy, and preserve *the earth*, O God, through *thy presence*." For the word

³³ For photographs from the "Chludov," Paris, and Barberini Psalters I am indebted to Professor Kurt Weitzmann and Professor Ernest T. DeWald of Princeton University. Other Psalters with indications of the Constantinopolitan system of antiphons and refrains are listed by Heinrich Schneider in his article "Die biblischen Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert," *Biblica*, XXX (1949) 249, n. 9.

"Alleluia" signifies God's presence, his coming, and his being made manifest, and it is set apart as the special praise of his dispensation.³⁴

As to the even-numbered antiphons, these are without preamble and no "Amen" is ever indicated. We may safely infer that they followed directly upon what preceded and that there was no intervening litany or doxology.

Now and then the Athens manuscript gives two first lines for an odd-numbered antiphon — the melismatic first line of the precentor and the syllabic first line of the choir. When this happens, the syllabic first line can sometimes be compared with a psalm-tone from the Grottaferrata MS. of 1225, and as a rule the two settings will agree, at least in their essential features. The first line of Psalm 17 provides a particularly instructive example.

PSALM 17

Precentor

Τὴν οἰ — κου — μέ — νην · 'Αλ — λη — λού — ῖ — α :

Precentor

'Α — γα — πῆ — σω σε κύ — ρι — ε ἡ ἰ — σχύς μου · 'Αλ — λη — λού — ῖ — α :

Choir

'Α — γα — πῆ — σω σε κύ — ρι — ε ἡ ἰ — σχύς μου · 'Αλ — λη — λού — ῖ — α :

Example 6

In this case, the precentor's announcement is only slightly more elaborate than the choral entrance and the two cadence formulas are identical, as are the refrains. In turn, the choral setting is in substantial agreement with the

Athens

'Α — γα — πῆ — σω σε κύ — ρι — ε ἡ ἰ — σχύς μου · 'Αλ — λη — λού — ῖ — α :

Grottaferrata

'Α — γα — πῆ — σω σε κύ — ρι — ε · 'Αλ — λη — λού — ῖ — α :

Example 7

³⁴ *De sacra precatone*, 629.

psalm-tone of the Grottaferrata MS., which, as we know, represents the practice of S. Salvatore di Messina (Ex. 7, p. 188).³⁵ And in this mode, the “Low Mode” or ἡχος βαρύς, the precentor’s intonation can also be traced to an earlier source. Taking the same formula, as adapted in the Athens manuscript to the first line of Psalm 37, I compare it with a solo verse of the common prokeimenon or gradual of the mode, as given in a number of thirteenth-century manuscripts, among them one at Grottaferrata dated “1247.”

PSALM 37

Psalm-tone

Prokeimenon

Example 8

This confirmation is the more welcome in that the manuscripts containing the prokeimenon undoubtedly conserve a Constantinopolitan tradition.³⁶

Symeon tells us very little about the use of these sixty-eight antiphons at Vespers and Lauds and almost nothing about the number to be recited at any one service. Of Vespers, he says only that in his day the antiphons were no longer being sung, excepting on Saturdays and during Lent, at which season the traditional complement of six antiphons was still being maintained; he calls this “weak and negligent,” and adds that the constant “grumbling of the lazy” has forced him to reduce this complement, on Saturdays, to a single psalm. In his account of Lauds, he deals only with the Sunday arrangements, which constitute a special case.³⁷ But combining this meager evidence with the implications of the Athens manuscript, we might perhaps assume that the theoretical complement for either service was normally six antiphons – or if we counted the first and final antiphons, eight. This would agree well with the number of the evening and morning prayers. It would also agree with the views advanced by Father Nilo Borgia in his

³⁵ This psalm-tone, which belongs to the monastic psalmody of the Sunday Lauds, is found also in the MSS. Messina, University Library, S. Salvatore 120; Vaticanus graecus 1606; and Grottaferrata Γ.γ. vii (904).

³⁶ Sinai 1280; Patmos 221; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ancien fonds grec 397; Vaticanus graecus 345; and Grottaferrata Γ.γ. iii (372).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 637, 640.

reconstruction of the “chanted” Vespers,³⁸ and up to a certain point it would agree with the more recent conclusions of Antoniadès.³⁹ There can be little doubt that it would closely approximate the practice of Thessalonica about the year 1400.

But one has only to consult the Typikon of the Great Church to recognize that the practice of Constantinople in the ninth century was altogether different. This is already evident from the infrequent and unsystematic indications of the Patmos copy, the one text now available in print.⁴⁰ And with the aid of the more complete and more explicit text of the copy at the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem,⁴¹ the details of the earlier practice can actually be pieced together. A single example will make this clear. Under August 15, the Patmos copy gives one of its brief and infrequent directions: “From this day on we sing at Lauds 10 antiphons and at Vespers 15.”⁴² Of itself, this does not help us much. But the Jerusalem copy, in repeating the rubric, makes a significant addition: “About this time there is added to Lauds one antiphon, making 10, and 15 antiphons are recited at Vespers.”⁴³ The inference is plain — at some earlier date the number of antiphons at Lauds was nine. Turning back to July 31 we find this confirmed: “[Today] there is added to Lauds one antiphon, making 9, and there is subtracted from Vespers one antiphon, making 16.”⁴⁴ Again turning back, we find a further direction under July 16: “On or about the Monday after this commemoration there is added to Lauds one antiphon, making 8, and there is subtracted from Vespers one antiphon, making 17.”⁴⁵ With this the pattern is unmistakable, and even though we lack some of the pieces, we can restore the whole. (For details of the early practice, see the table on p. 191).

The purpose and meaning of this arrangement will be immediately apparent. During the greater part of the year — roughly from All Saints, or Trinity Sunday, to the beginning of Lent — the daily complement was twenty-five

³⁸ In his *Ἑρμολόγιον “diurno” delle chiese di rito bizantino*, 2nd ed. (Grottaferrata, 1929), 84–103. The basis of this reconstruction was the work of Father Sofronio Gassisi.

³⁹ *Θεολογία*, XXI (1950) 199, 341. Relying on Symeon’s account of the Sunday arrangements, Antoniadès concludes that, counting the first antiphon, the number of antiphons at Lauds was either four or seven, depending on whether the three divisions of Psalm 118 are reckoned as three antiphons or as six.

⁴⁰ Dmitrievskii’s edition is cited in note 26 above.

⁴¹ Hagiou Stavrou, MS. 40, microfilmed for the Library of Congress in 1949 and 1950 by the American School of Oriental Research. The first folios of this MS. were published by Dmitrievskii in the third volume of his collection of texts (pp. 766–768), a project interrupted in 1917.

⁴² Dmitrievskii, *loc. cit.*, I, 105.

⁴³ Folio 203 (August 14).

⁴⁴ Folio 196.

⁴⁵ Folio 188 *verso*.

.....	7	18		
July 16	8	17	LENT	
July 31	9	16		
August 14/15	10	15	First Monday	12 12
.....	11	14	Second Monday	11 12
September 14	12	13	Fourth Monday	10 12
.....	13	12	Fifth Monday	9 12
October 11	14	11	Sixth Saturday	8 12
October 21	15	10		
.....	16	9		
November 10	17	8	EASTERTIDE	
December 25	18	7		
January 7	17	8	Easter Monday	7 13
.....	16	9	Beginning of May	7 14
January 20	15	10	7 15
.....	14	11	7 16
.....	13	12	June 4	7 17

antiphons, including the first and final antiphons of Morning and Evening Prayer. But the division of this assignment between the two services varied with the season. When the days are longest, in late June, the heavier burden falls to Vespers; when they are shortest, in late December, it falls to Lauds. During Lent the daily complement is gradually reduced; after Easter it increases again. And unlike most other systems of this kind, which aim to provide for the weekly reading of the whole Psalter, or for two such readings, the ancient system of Hagia Sophia makes no attempt to synchronize the recitation of the sixty-eight antiphons with a period of seven days or with any other predetermined period. At Lauds of the First Monday in Lent,⁴⁶ and again at the Vespers of Easter Sunday,⁴⁷ the Typikon directs a beginning from Psalm 1. But apart from these two points of adjustment, there is no co-ordination, for the period of the sixty-eight antiphons – roughly three days and a fraction, or a little more, depending on the season – is not commensurable with the calendar.

If we proceed now to a comparison of these provisions with those worked out in the monasteries, we shall find them different in every conceivable respect. To the sixty-eight antiphons of the Great Church, a division of only 140 of the 150 psalms, the monasteries oppose a division of the whole Psalter into twenty sessions (*καθίσματα*) and sixty stations (*στάσεις*). At the Great Church the recitation of the sixty-eight antiphons does not coincide with any predetermined period; in the monasteries the whole Psalter is recited

⁴⁶ Hagiou Stavrou, MS. 40, f. 206.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 229 verso; Dmitrievskii, *loc. cit.*, I, 136.

once a week, or — during Lent — twice. The elaborate system of refrains set forth in Pitra's canon is wholly foreign to monastic psalmody, which knows only the one refrain, "Alleluia." A further difference affects the text of the Psalter itself. For the "chanted" office this is arranged by whole verses which correspond roughly to the verses of the Authorized Version; for the monastic office it is (or was) arranged by short distinctions or half verses.⁴⁸ This of course brings with it a difference in the manner of recitation — in the monasteries the choirs alternate more frequently, and when refrains are used, they are more frequently interpolated. One might suppose that it would lead also to the introduction of medial cadences in the psalm-tones of the Great Church. But this does not happen, and the long verses of the Constantinopolitan text are recited straight through, without a noticeable break. Still another difference helps to explain Symeon's statement that the "chanted" office was sung throughout, as opposed to the monastic office, which was often performed without singing at all. For the sixty-eight antiphons of the Great Church are designed for daily use, and the Athens manuscript provides music for every one of them. In the monasteries, on the contrary, the chanting of the "distributed" Psalter was restricted to the Saturday Vespers, the Sunday Lauds, and the Vespers of great feasts; the monastic books provide music only for the few psalms used on these occasions — the rest of the Psalter was simply read.⁴⁹ These are impressive differences with far-reaching implications. We shall find others, equally impressive, if we turn now from the Psalter to the canticles of the Old and New Testaments. Since neither the number nor the order of the canticles is predetermined, we may expect to find these differences still more significant.

On this point Symeon says only that at the Sunday Lauds the second canticle of the Holy Children followed the singing of the final antiphon, and that on week days at Lauds the canticle of Zacharias came at the end, between Psalms 148 to 150 and the Gloria or Great Doxology.⁵⁰ The other well-known canticles of the Old Testament he does not mention, nor does he say anything at all about the use or position of the Magnificat. Now at the

⁴⁸ On this point see Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart, 1914) 18–19, 225; and Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden in Jerusalem und Konstantinopel" (cited in note 11 above) 451. Many early Psalters include a more or less elaborate colophon comparing the total number of verses in the two versions. For the Constantinopolitan or "Ecclesiastical" Psalter the total is usually 2,542; for the Palestinian or "Hagiopolite" Psalter it is usually 4,782 or 4,784.

⁴⁹ This view is based not only on the MSS. referred to in note 35 above, but also on MS. L 36 sup. (476) of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, which provides only for the psalms sung at the Saturday Vespers during Lent, and on a considerable number of sources, among them the one just cited, that give the beginnings of the troparia sung with the Psalter at Lauds, restricting themselves in this to the Lauds of Sundays.

⁵⁰ *De sacra precatone*, 640–641, 648–649.

Sunday Lauds, as we know from Symeon, the regular antiphons of the “distributed” Psalter were displaced by the great acrostic psalm, Psalm 118.⁵¹ The Athens manuscript confirms this. At the same time it discloses that a similar displacement occurred at the Saturday Lauds, at which time, instead of the regular antiphons, one sang a series of seven canticles. That this was also the practice of the ninth century in Constantinople is evident from a direction found in the Typikon of the Great Church. For on the Saturday of the Akathistos Hymn, one of the few Saturdays it treats in any detail, the Patmos copy has this rubric: “At Lauds we sing 8 antiphons – the first antiphon and the 7 canticles.”⁵²

In largely restricting the singing of the canticles to a particular day of the week, the Great Church places itself once again in direct opposition to the monasteries, where the canticles were read every morning, and it proclaims its independence not only in this respect but also in choosing different texts and in arranging them in a different order. In the monasteries the sequence of canticles begins with the two canticles of Moses from Exodus and Deuteronomy; then come the canticles of Hannah, Habakkuk, Isaiah, and Jonah, followed by the first canticle of the Holy Children. But in the Athens manuscript the canticle of Hannah comes after those from Habakkuk and Isaiah, and it is coupled with the Magnificat, just as two or more psalms are often combined in a single antiphon. After this follows the Prayer of Hezekiah, which forms no part of the monastic canon, while the canticle of Jonah is passed over in silence.

The order is strange, but it is not unique. With the aid of Schneider’s exhaustive study of the canticles and their liturgical use, one can trace it to the commentaries of Hesychios, as contained in a manuscript of the eleventh or twelfth century at the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, and from thence to a seventh-century source, the celebrated “Purple Psalter” of the Stadt-Bibliothek in Zürich. Relying on marginal indications of the Barberini Psalter, Schneider correctly identifies this ordering of the canticles with the use of Hagia Sophia. And his sources complete the series for us. That the Magnificat was coupled with its Old Testament prototype, the canticle of Hannah, we know already from the Athens manuscript. It now appears that the canticle of Jonah and the Prayer of Manasseh were similarly treated, and that just as Mary followed Hannah, so Jonah followed Isaiah, and Manasseh Hezekiah. Thus our seven canticles are in reality ten.⁵³

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 637–644.

⁵² Dmitrievskii, *loc. cit.*, I, 124.

⁵³ “Die biblischen Oden im christlichen Altertum,” *Biblica*, XXX (1949), 28–65, especially 58 and following.

Like the antiphons of the Psalter, the seven canticles are also provided with refrains. The canticles from Exodus and Daniel form these from their first lines. The long canticle from Deuteronomy has several, of which the first and principal one is "Glory to thee, O God." The remainder draw on the common stock, selecting their refrains from among those used earlier for the even-numbered antiphons of the "distributed" Psalter.⁵⁴ It follows logically that these refrains ought also to be indicated in the margins of the "Chludov" Psalter and its descendants. And of course they are. Thus the "Chludov" Psalter directs that the prayers of Hezekiah and Manasseh be treated as one antiphon and sung with the refrain "Forgive me, Lord" (fig. 9). In this source the order of the canticles departs from the use of Hagia Sophia, in that the two royal prayers, numbered "7" and "8," follow immediately after the canticle of Jonah.⁵⁵ But the refrain is the correct one, and it is noteworthy that the later hand, having gone over the faded uncial text from Jonah, leaves the first of the two prayers untouched. The same is true of the second, for neither prayer belongs to the monastic canon (fig. 7). As before, the Athens manuscript supplies the music.


PRAYER OF HEZEKIAH

Precentor



'Εν τῷ ὕψει τῶν ἡμερῶν μου · Ἰλάσθητί μοι, κύριε ·

Choir



'Εγὼ εἶπα Ἐν τῷ ὕψει τῶν ἡμερῶν μου ·

Example 9

Once more we are confronted with a proof of independent origin. For in former times the monasteries too had a system of refrains for the canticles, and it has been preserved for us in the conventional headings of the texts themselves and in the concluding lines of many troparia from the Hirmologion. Thus for the canticle of Habakkuk the monasteries once used the re-

⁵⁴ In the Athens MS. the canticles of Hannah and Mary are also preceded and followed by a troparion. On the first Saturday this is "Holy Mother of the unutterable Light," on the second Saturday it is "All-holy mother of God, protecting wall of Christians." As troparia for the Psalter at Lauds, both texts can be found in the current Athens edition of the *Parakletiké* (pp. 119 and 273). Additional troparia of the same sort are found on folios 57 and 99 *verso* of the Athens MS. in connection with the Lauds of the two Saturdays before Christmas.

⁵⁵ The order is that of the Turin MS. of the commentaries of Hesychios, as given by Schneider on p. 64 of the article cited in note 53 above.

frain “Glory to thy strength, O Lord.” But at Hagia Sophia the refrain was “Hear me, Lord,” a refrain used also for several antiphons of the Psalter.

If the Great Church sang the canticles only once a week, choosing its own texts, ordering them in its own way, and interpolating its own refrains, what place can it have found for those unique expressions of the monastic spirit, the stanzas of the canons? Symeon tells us that at Hagia Sophia they formed no part of the original order.⁵⁶

But wishing that order to be preserved and kept from harm [he adds], we ourselves have introduced the canons as a sort of spice or sweetening, so that no lazy or indifferent person, grumbling about beauty and knowing nothing of the order, may find a pretext to destroy it, alleging that he does not hear the familiar canons that are sung by all.⁵⁷

Symeon’s solution, as he explains it, was to place the canons in the second half of the service, between the fiftieth psalm and the Lauds themselves. The Athens manuscript adopts a different plan for the one canon it appoints. This is the well-known canon by Cosmas of Jerusalem for the feast of the Exaltation, and its eight model-stanzas are to be interpolated after the last eight of the twelve antiphons of the “distributed” Psalter provided for this exceptional occasion. Thus the stanzas of the canon, conceived by Cosmas as poetic paraphrases of specific canticles, are made to alternate with groups of psalms to which they stand in no intelligible relation whatsoever. The sheer incompatibility of the two liturgical practices could scarcely have been made more obvious.

What is true of the canons and their model-stanzas ought also to be true of the stichera, even though Symeon specifically directs the singing of such pieces, both at Vespers and at Lauds.⁵⁸ At Hagia Sophia, the successive verses of the evening psalm, or *Κύριε ἐκέκραξα*, were sung with a refrain which varied from day to day and from week to week.⁵⁹ This leaves no appropriate place for further interpolation, and none is called for in the Typikon of the Great Church. Similar considerations forbid the interpolation of stichera at the morning office, whether with the Pentekostarion or with the Lauds themselves. Thus, like the stanzas of the canons, the stichera are fundamentally incompatible with the “chanted” order, and if they were at length admitted to it, as Symeon tells us they were, it must have been reluctantly and as a drastic compromise.

⁵⁶ *De sacra precatone*, 648.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 556.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 632, 649.

⁵⁹ Symeon (*ibid.*, 629) names only those for alternate Sundays, but the Athens MS. has them all, and our other sources give an occasional proper refrain for an outstanding feast. For the refrains of the *Κύριε ἐκέκραξα* and Pentekostarion, as given in Athens 2061, see Appendices II and III below.

To round out my account of the Lauds at Hagia Sophia, I ought now to touch on the final antiphon or introit, which our visitor from Novgorod heard sung as the choirs entered the Great Church from the narthex and grouped themselves in the center; to proceed as he did to the second canticle of the Holy Children, chanted before the altar as the doors of the sanctuary were opened; then to continue with the morning psalm, or Pentekostarion, and with the concluding rites of Morning Prayer – the Lauds themselves, the canticle of Zacharias, and the Gloria or Great Doxology – which lead on Sundays to a troparion commemorating the Resurrection and to the prokeimenon and morning Gospel. In a similar way I ought also to round out my account of the Vespers, beginning with the final antiphon, the evening psalm, and the prokeimenon, and proceeding to the supplication and petitions, the lessons from the Old Testament, and the troparion of the day. But to do this properly would require another paper and would involve the use of quite different sources, for in principle the Athens manuscript does not follow either service beyond the central psalm, from which point the “chanted” Lauds and Vespers begin to agree in most respects with the monastic rite.

In most respects, but not in all. For there remains one highly individual feature of the “chanted” Vespers – the so-called “Little Antiphons” which follow the supplication and petitions of the deacon. Our manuscripts provide for these,⁶⁰ and Symeon pays high tribute to their fitness and to the thought behind them.

Observe in these three antiphons [he says] the well-ordered arrangement of the hymns of the church: in the first, it invokes the intercession of the Virgin; in the second, aspiring higher, it implores him who was born of her to be propitious through the mediation of his saints; in the third and last, it sings the Trisagion with the angels, glorifying God, asking his forgiveness, and ascending a further step towards the sublime.⁶¹

The three antiphons draw their texts from Psalms 114, 115, and 116. Each has four verses and each is followed by a doxology. For each there is a special refrain, as Symeon implies, and for each a special prayer. The whole construction offers an exact parallel to the preliminary antiphons of the Liturgy. Here too the first and second antiphons are addressed, through their refrains, to Mother and Son. Here too the second doxology leads to a poetic summary of the Constantinopolitan Creed, the troparion “Only-begotten Son and Word of God.” And here too, though in a different way, the whole is crowned by the Trisagion. That the parallel extends also to the

⁶⁰ Athens 2061, f. 48 *verso*; Vatopedi 1527, f. 312 *verso*; Lavra E.173, f. 248.

⁶¹ *De sacra precatone*, 633.

music can be shown quite simply. Let us take the refrain of the second antiphon: "Save us, Son of God, thou who didst rise from the dead, we who sing to thee Alleluia."

LITURGY	VESPERS
<p>Σω—σον ἡ—μᾶς, υἱ—ἐ θε—οῦ,</p>	<p>Σω—σον ἡ—μᾶς, υἱ—ἐ θε—οῦ,</p>
<p>ὁ ἀ—να—στὰς ἐκ νε—κρῶν,</p>	<p>ὁ ἀ—να—στὰς ἐκ νε—κρῶν,</p>
<p>ψάλ—λον—τάς σοι.</p>	<p>ψάλ—λον—τάς σοι.</p>
<p>Ἄλ—λη—λού—ι—α :</p>	<p>Ἄλ—λη—λού—ι—α :</p>

Example 10

Though they stand in different modes, the two melodies are in other respects very much alike.⁶²

The little antiphons of the "chanted" Vespers have left a permanent impression on the monastic rite. Even today the prayers they were designed to accompany are read once a year, at the Vespers of Pentecost. And at first, on this one Sunday evening, the monasteries sang the antiphons as well. As one result of this, one finds occasional traces of the "chanted" office in early monastic books. Thus the texts of the three little antiphons are contained in a manuscript at Vatopedi, written about the year 1050.⁶³ But although a rubric directs that they be sung, no music is given for them at all. For the rest, the service is purely monastic, as will be evident from the opening directions (fig. 10). These prescribe the singing of Psalm 103, as usual in the monastic rite; after this follows a group of stichera, by Cosmas of Jerusalem, to be sung with the evening psalm. Again without music, the texts of the three little antiphons are found also in a number of manuscripts from Sicily

⁶² The melody sung at the Liturgy can be found in any number of fourteenth-century sources as a refrain for the introit. I transcribe it here after a MS. at the Lavra dated "1377" (Lavra, I. 178, f. 212 *verso*).

⁶³ Vatopedi 1488, ff. 168–168 *verso*.

and Calabria, of which the earliest, at Grottaferrata, was written about the year 1100.⁶⁴ But in these sources, despite monastic interpolations, the whole framework of the service is Constantinopolitan. And this framework has music throughout. In the copy at Grottaferrata, the Vespers begin from the benediction used at Hagia Sophia: "Blessed be the kingdom of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for ever and ever" (fig. 11).⁶⁵ Then follows the usual litany, and after this, with musical notation, the first and final antiphons of the "chanted" Vespers.⁶⁶ Except for isolated phrases, we cannot read the notation of this source. But one thing is certain. Although the melodies are different from any of those we know, their general behavior conforms exactly to the pattern of our later sources.

By the eleventh century, then, the monasteries were already borrowing procedures from the "chanted" office and making them their own. At the same time, and even earlier, the influence of the monastic rite was making itself felt at Hagia Sophia. By the year 1200 the Great Church had abandoned the celebration of the Liturgy on Good Friday, our visitor from Novgorod informs us.⁶⁷ And in an eleventh-century manuscript at the Lavra, almost certainly written in Constantinople or within its orbit, the Palestinian hour-services for Good Friday have displaced the service called for in the Typikon of the Great Church (fig. 12). In this source, the monastic hours are specifically identified as "conforming to the tradition of the Holy City." The conflicting service called for in the Typikon is then relegated to an appendix (fig. 13). Nor is the Typikon itself altogether free from monastic borrowings, even in its ninth-century state. On Maundy Thursday, as Baumstark has pointed out,⁶⁸ the commemoration of the washing of the feet of the disciples already involves the singing of troparia taken over from the local use of Jerusalem.

Thus it appears that we do not in fact possess either office in its pristine form and that the intermingling of monastic and non-monastic practices antedates our earliest documents. Long before the Latin occupation, the conflicting claims of the two practices had clashed, and in the ensuing contest the imperial city did not prove itself the stronger part. By 1204 the rites

⁶⁴ Grottaferrata, Γ.β. xxxv (409), ff. 59 verso-67. Other Italo-Greek MSS. giving the text of the three little antiphons are Messina 129, Grottaferrata Γ.γ. v, and Vaticanus graecus 1606.

⁶⁵ Compare Symeon, *De sacra precatone*, 624-625.

⁶⁶ The beginning of the final antiphon, as given in this source, is reproduced in facsimile by Father Lorenzo Tardo in his *L'Antica melurgia bizantina* (Grottaferrata, 1938), pl. xvi.

⁶⁷ *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (cited in note 1 above) 105. For the earlier custom, see Dmitrievskii, *loc. cit.*, 131, and Symeon, *Responsiones*, 905-908.

⁶⁸ "Denkmäler der Entstehungsgeschichte des byzantinischen Ritus" (cited in note 9 above) 21.

of the Great Church had lost their hold. Their life was almost spent. May we not recognize in this the surest sign of their venerable antiquity?

The principal sources upon which this study is based are those which came to my notice in the spring of 1953, at the time of my first visit to Athens and Mount Athos. Following a second visit during the summer of 1955, made possible by grants from the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation and from Princeton University, I can direct attention to a number of additional sources which, without affecting my earlier conclusions in any significant way, show that the music of the "chanted" office was somewhat more widely disseminated than I had at first supposed.

Thus, on Mount Athos, music for the "chanted" Vespers of outstanding feasts is found, not only in Lavra E. 173 and Vatopedi 1527, sources already mentioned, but also in Koutloumoussi 456 (folios 466 to 469), an otherwise normal compilation dated "1446." Additional sources from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with more or less complete versions of the "chanted" Lauds for the feast of the Exaltation are Ivron 947 and 1120, Koutloumoussi 457, Lavra I. 185, and Vatopedi 1529. In Ivron 1120, a voluminous anthology compiled and copied in 1458 by Manuel Chrysaphes, this music is assigned to the Lauds of the Sunday before Christmas, and it is preceded by the little liturgical drama of the Holy Children whose text has been published by P. N. Trempelas, after Athens 2406, in his *Ἐκλογή ἐλληνικῆς ὀρθοδόξου ὑμνογραφίας* (Athens, 1949).

But by far the most important of these additional sources is a manuscript belonging to the National Library in Athens and, like Athens 2061, it is a manuscript that has come to Athens from the Gymnasium in Salonika. The MS. Athens 2062, which devotes its first 137 folios to the "chanted" office and to special music for the feast of St. Demetrius, is in most respects a duplicate of Athens 2061. But it is the earlier manuscript of the two, for its polychronia place it not later than the year 1385, during the lifetime of Andronicus IV. Unlike Athens 2061, it has only a single Ordinarium, that for the first week. In compensation, however, it is sometimes more complete. It contains several settings of the Pentekostarion, or Fiftieth Psalm, and gives the music for two of its refrains. It shows us how the refrains for the canticle of Zacharias were sung, and is the only source to tell us that this canticle was regularly coupled with the canticle of Symeon, the Nunc dimittis. Finally, it fills in serious gaps in Athens 2061, which has lost a number of folios.

While my own study of the "chanted" office was being written and prepared for publication, an independent study of the same problem was ap-

pearing serially in the Greek periodical *Θεολογία*. Published under the title *Αἱ εὐχαὶ τοῦ Ὁρθρου καὶ τοῦ Ἑσπερινοῦ*, this is the work of Professor P. N. Trempelas of the University of Athens, who has since reprinted its several installments in the second volume of his *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον* (Athens, 1955). Like myself, Professor Trempelas draws heavily on the text of Athens 2061, from which he publishes a number of useful extracts. He also makes some use of an earlier study by Alexander Lavriotes, published in the *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια* for 1895, from which he reprints the text of the Vespers for outstanding feasts, as given in *Lavra A. 165*, a manuscript of the seventeenth century. Considering that Professor Trempelas was no more aware of my work on the problem than I was of his, I think it remarkable that our two solutions should agree as closely as they do.

APPENDIX I

THE ANTIPHONS OF THE PSALTER

1. The "Distributed" Psalter

1	1–	2: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.	30	59–	61: Βοήθησόν με, κύριε.
2	4–	6: Οἰκτεῖρησόν με, κύριε.	31	63–	64: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.
3		9: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.	32	65–	66: Οἰκτεῖρησόν με, κύριε.
4	7–	8: Σῶσον ἡμᾶς, κύριε.	33		67: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.
5	10–	13: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.	34	68–	69: Σῶσον ἡμᾶς, κύριε.
6	14–	16: Φύλαξόν με, κύριε.	35		70: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.
7		17: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.	36	71–	72: Ἀντιλαβοῦ μου, κύριε.
8	18–	20: Ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε.	37	73–	74: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.
9		21: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.	38	75–	76: Φύλαξόν με, κύριε.
10	22–	23: Ἐλέησόν με, κύριε.	39		77: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.
11	24–	25: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.	40	78–	79: Ἰλάσθητί μοι, κύριε.
12	26–	27: Βοήθησόν με, κύριε.	41	80–	81: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.
13	28–	29: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.	42	82–	83: Ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε.
14		30: Ἀντιλαβοῦ μου, κύριε.	43		84: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.
15	31–	32: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.	44	86–	87: Μνήσθητί μου, κύριε.
16		33: Οἰκτεῖρησόν με, κύριε.	45		88: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.
17		36: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.	46	89–	90: Φύλαξόν με, κύριε.
18	34–	35: Ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε.	47	91–	93: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.
19	37–	38: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.	48	94–	96: Σῶσον ἡμᾶς, κύριε.
20	39–	40: Εἰσάκουσόν μου, κύριε.	49	97–	100: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.
21	41–	42: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.	50		101: Εἰσάκουσόν μου, κύριε.
22		43: Σῶσον ἡμᾶς, κύριε.	51		102: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.
23	44–	45: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.	52		103: Οἰκτεῖρησόν με, κύριε.
24	46–	47: Ἰλάσθητί μοι, κύριε.	53		104: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.
25	48–	49: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.	54		105: Ἀντιλαβοῦ μου, κύριε.
26	51–	53: Μνήσθητί μου, κύριε.	55		106: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.
27		54: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.	56	107–	108: Βοήθησόν με, κύριε.
28	55–	56: Ἐλέησόν με, κύριε.	57	109–	112: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.
29	57–	58: Ἀλληλοῦῖα.	58	113–	116: Ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε.

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| 59 | 117: 'Αλληλούϊα. | 64 | 136–137: 'Ιλάσθητί μοι, κύριε. |
| 60 | 119–124: 'Ελέησόν με, κύριε. | 65 | 138–139: 'Αλληλούϊα. |
| 61 | 125–130: 'Αλληλούϊα. | 66 | 141–142: Εισάκουσόν μου, κύριε. |
| 62 | 131–132: Μνήσθητί μου, κύριε. | 67 | 143–144: 'Αλληλούϊα. |
| 63 | 134–135: 'Αλληλούϊα. | 68 | 145–147: 'Αντιλαβοῦ μου, κύριε. |

2. Psalm 118

Antiphon 1: 'Αλληλούϊα.

Antiphon 2: Συνέτισόν με, κύριε.

Antiphon 3: 'Αλληλούϊα.

3. The Canticles

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| 1 Exodus | Τῷ κυρίῳ ᾄσωμεν, ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται. |
| 2 Deuteronomy | Δόξα σοι, ὁ θεός. |
| At Καὶ ἔφαγεν Ἰακώβ | Φύλαξόν με, κύριε. |
| At "Οτι πῦρ ἐκκέκασται | Δίκαιος εἶ, κύριε. |
| At Ἰδετε ἴδετε | Δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι. |
| 3 Habakkuk | Εἰσάκουσόν μου, κύριε. |
| 4 Isaiah & Jonah | Οἰκτεῖρήσόν με, κύριε. |
| 5 Hannah & Mary | 'Ελέησόν με, κύριε. |
| 6 Hezekiah & Manasseh | 'Ιλάσθητί μοι, κύριε. |
| 7 Holy Children | Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε. |

APPENDIX II

THE REFRAINS OF THE Κύριε ἐκέκραξα

1. First Week

Sunday. Ἦχος β'.

"Ενδοξε ἀειπαρθένη θεοτόκε, μήτηρ θεοῦ, προσάγαγε τὴν ἡμετέραν προσευχὴν τῷ νίῳ σου καὶ θεῷ ἡμῶν.

Monday. Ἦχος πλ. δ'.

'Εκέκραξά σοι, σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου· εἰσάκουσόν μου καὶ σῶσόν με, δέομαι.

Tuesday. Ἦχος πλ. β'.

Τὴν ἔπαρσιν τῶν χειρῶν μου, κύριε, θυσίαν πρόσδεξαι ἐσπερινὴν καὶ σῶσόν με, φιλόανθρωπε.

Wednesday. Ἦχος β'.

Κατεύθυνον τὴν προσευχήν μου, κύριε, δέομαι καὶ σῶσόν με.

Thursday. Ἦχος β'.

"Οτι πρὸς σέ, κύριε, κύριε, οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου· φύλαξον καὶ σῶσόν με.

Friday. Ἦχος πλ. β'.

Θεὸν ἐκ σοῦ σαρκωθέντα ἔγνωμεν, θεοτόκε παρθένε· αὐτὸν ἰκέτευε σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

Saturday. Ἦχος γ'.

Τὴν σωτήριόν σου ἔγερσιν δοξάζομεν, φιλόανθρωπε.

2. Second Week

Sunday's refrain agrees with that for the first week.

Monday. Without indication of mode.

Κύριε, ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ, εἰσάκουσόν μου· πρόσχευε τῇ φωνῇ τῆς δεήσεώς μου.

Tuesday. Ἦχος β'.

Ἐν τῷ κεκραγέναι με, κύριε, τῆς φωνῆς μου ἄκουσον καὶ σῶσόν με.

Wednesday. Ἦχος πλ. β'.

Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ἐνώπιόν σου, σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου.

Thursday. Ἦχος πλ. β'.

Δέσποτα κύριε, σοὶ μόνῳ ἀναπέμπομεν ἐσπερινὸν ὕμνον· ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Friday's refrain agrees with that for the first week.

Saturday. Ἦχος πλ. β'.

Τὴν ζωηφόρον σου ἐγερσιν, κύριε, δοξάζομεν.

APPENDIX III

THE REFRAINS OF THE PENTEKOSTARION

1. First Week

Monday. Ἦχος γ'.

Τῆς ψυχῆς μου τὸν ῥύπον σὺ γινώσκεις, κύριε· παράσχου μοι συγχώρησιν πλημμελήματι ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐλέησόν με.

Tuesday. Ἦχος πλ. α'.

Διὰ τὰ ἔργα μου τὰ δεινὰ πόσης παρρησίας ἐστέρημαι· καὶ κράζειν οὐ τολμῶ τὸ Ἰλάσθητι· ἀλλ' ὡς σὺ μόνος οἶδας, κύριε, ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας, ἐλέησόν με.

Wednesday. Ἦχος α'.

Ὁ σταυρὸν ὑπομείνας δι' ἐμέ· φώτισον τὴν ψυχὴν μου δέομαι, ὁ θεός, καὶ ἐλέησόν με.

Thursday. Ἦχος γ'.

Ἐκ βυθοῦ τῶν ἀνομιῶν μου ἀνάγαγε, κύριε· ὡς τὸν Πέτρον ἐκ τῶν κυμάτων καὶ ἐλέησόν με.

Friday. Ἦχος δ'.

Πλῦνον τὸν ῥύπον τῆς καρδίας μου· κάθαρσον τὰ πλήθη τῶν πταισμάτων μου· τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ σταυροῦ σου, ὁ θεός, καὶ ἐλέησόν με.

Saturday. Ἦχος πλ. δ'.

Τὸ φῶς τῆς σῆς γνώσεως, κύριε, λάμψον ταῖς καρδιαῖς ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς θεοτόκου καὶ ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

2. Second Week

Monday. Ἦχος δ'.

Ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἀνομιῶν μου ῥύσαί με, κύριε· καὶ τῆς σῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας [ἀξίωσον] καὶ ἐλέησόν με.

Tuesday. Ἦχος πλ. α'.

Εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῶν σῶν οἰκτιρμῶν ἀφορῶντες βοῶμέν σοι, κύριε.

Wednesday. Ἦχος πλ. δ'.

Ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας μου καθάρισόν με, κύριε· καὶ τῆς σῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας ἀξίωσον, σωτήρ πολυέλεε.

Thursday. Ἦχος γ'.

Τὸν βυθὸν τῶν πταισμάτων μου σὺ γινώσκεις, κύριε· δός μοι χεῖρα ὡς τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ ἐλέησόν με.

Friday's refrain agrees with that for Wednesday of the first week.

Saturday. Ἦχος πλ. β'.

Ὁ τὸ φῶς ἀνατέλλων· διὰ τῆς θεοτόκου ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.